THE MODERATOR:

Being a true

PICTURE

OF

POPULAR DISCONTENTS.

By a Friend to *IRELAND.*

DUBLIN:
Printed in the Year MDCCLV.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

By a Friend to IRELAND.

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THE MODERATOR, &c.

AMONG ſeveral Differences or Diſtinctions, which curious and buſy, or rather idle Men, have obſerved, between the Races of Mankind, and thoſe of their Fellow Creatures; moſt have been by ſome diſputed, and few by all allowed. Thoſe chiefly inſiſted on, have been ſomething peculiar in their Shape, Weeping, Laughter, Speech, Reaſon. But the Comptrollers of vulgar Opinion have pretended to find out ſuch a Similitude of Shape in ſome kind of Baboons, or at leaſt ſuch as they call Drills, that laves little difference, beſides thoſe of Feature in Face, and of Hair on their Bodies; in both which, Men themſelves are very different. They obſerve Tears (though not the Convulſions of Face by Weeping) in Stags and Tortoiſes, upon Approach of the fatal Knife; and that they cry, at going out of the World, as well as Men at their coming in. For Speech, they pretend to doubt, whether the divers Sounds made by Animals, may not have Diverſity of Significations, as Words more articulate with us; and whether we can properly judge of their Diverſity, ſince we find ſo little in the common Speech of ſome Nations, eſpecially thoſe about the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the Northern Parts of *Muſcovy*; where they are obſerved to drive the Trade of ſelling Furs, without the uſe of above twenty Words, even with thoſe that underſtand their Language. For the great Number of Words ſeems not natural, but introduced by the Va-

riety of Paſſions, Actions, Poſſeſſions, Buſineſs, Entertainments in more civilized Nations, and by long courſe of Time, under civil Governments. Beſides, other Creatures are allowed to expreſs their moſt natural Wants and Paſſions, by the Sounds they make, as well as Men, which is all that is neceſſary in Speech; and none will diſpute Anger, Deſire, Love, Fear, to be livelier expreſs'd by Us, than by the Lion, the Horſe, the Bull, the Buck; or Tenderneſs, more than by the Bleating of Ewes to their Lambs; or the Kindneſs of Turtles to their Mates. For articulate Sounds and Words, we meet them in Parrots, and ſeveral other Birds; and if theirs are taught them, ſo are ours at firſt to Children; and though we uſually eſteem them in others, to be only Repetition or Imitation, yet ſome Inſtances of the contrary have been remarked in our Age; and it appears by Greek and Latin Authors, to have been believed by Antients, that certain Birds in the *Indies* were commonly known, not only to Speak as Parrots among Us, but to Talk and Diſcourſe.

For Reaſon, that of Brutes, as Dogs, Horſes, Owls, Foxes, but eſpecially Elephants, is ſo common a Theam, that it needs no Inſtances, nor can well be illuſtrated, beyond what *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, *Montagne*, and many others, have curiouſly written upon that Subject; nor can any Man's common Life paſs, without Occaſions of Remark, and even Wonder, upon what they may ſee every Day of this kind. So that of all thoſe Diſtinctions mentioned, and uſually produced, there is none left unqueſtioned by the curious, beſide that of Laughter; which cannot, I think, or at leaſt I know not to have been diſputed, being proper and peculiar to Man, without any Traces or Similitude of it, in any other Creature: And if it were always an Expreſſion of good Humour, or being pleaſed, we ſhould have Reaſon to value our ſelves more upon it; but 'tis moved by ſuch different and contrary Objects and Affections, that it has gain-

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ed little Eſteem, ſince we Laugh at Folly as well as Wit, at Accidents that vex us ſometimes, as well as others that pleaſe us, and at the Malice of Apes, as well as the Innocence of Children; and the Things that pleaſe us moſt, are apt to make other ſorts of Motions, both in our Faces and Hearts, and very different from thoſe of Laughter.

But there remains yet one other Difference between Us and the reſt of our Fellow Creatures, which though leſs taken Notice of, in the uſual Reaſonings or Enquiries of this Kind, yet ſeems to challenge a Rank and a Right, as due, and as undiſputed as any of the others, which ſeems a very ill Effect of a very good Cauſe, a Thorn that ever grows with a Roſe, and a great Debaſement of the greateſt Prerogative Mankind can pretend to, which is that of Reaſon: What I Mean is, a certain Reſtleſneſs of Mind and Thought, which ſeems univerſally and inſeparably annexed to our very Natures and Conſtitutions, unſatisfied with what we are, or what we at preſent poſſeſs and enjoy, ſtill raving after ſomething [illegible]or to come, and by Griefs, Regrets, Deſires, or Fears, ever troubling and corrupting, the Pleaſures of our Senſes and of our Imaginations, the Enjoyments of our Fortunes, or the beſt Production of our Reaſons, and thereby the Content and Happineſs of our Lives.

This is the true natural and common Source of ſuch Perſonal Diſſatisfactions, ſuch Domeſtick Complaints, and ſuch Popular Diſcontents, as afflict not only our private Lives, Conditions and Fortunes, but even our Civil States and Governments, and thereby conſummate the particular and general Infelicity of Mankind; which is enough complain'd of by all that conſider it, in the common Actions and Paſſions of Life, but much more in the Factions, Seditions, Convulſions, and fatal Revolutions, that have ſo frequently, and in all Ages, attended all or moſt of the Governments in the World.

To theſe, of old, *Sparta* and *Athens* have been Subject, as well as *Carthage* and *Rome*; the ſmaller Kingdom of *Epire* and *Macedon*, as well as the great Empires of *Ægypt* and *Perſia*; the *Monarchies Ariſtocraſies*, and *Democracies* among the Gentiles, and even the *Theocracy* among the *Jews*, though one was inſtituted by God himſelf, and many of the others framed by the wiſeſt of mortal Men. In latter Ages, *Venice* and *Holland* have been infeſted by theſe Diſeaſes, as well as *England* and *France*; Kingdoms of the *Moors* in *Spain*, as well as thoſe of the *Goths*; the Chriſtian Governments, as well as the *Mahometan*; and thoſe of the Reformed, like thoſe of thy *Roman* Faith.

This reſtleſs Humor, ſo general and natural to Mankind, is a Weed that grows in all Soils, and under all Climates, but ſeems to thrive moſt, and grow faſteſt, in the beſt; 'tis raiſed eaſier by the more ſprightly Wits and livelier Imaginations, than by groſſer and duller Conceptions; nor have the Regions of *Guiny* and *Muſcovy*, been ſo much over-run with it, as thoſe of *Italy* and *Greece*: The moſt ſpeculative Men, are the moſt forecaſting, and moſt reflecting; and the more ingenious Men are, they are the more apt to trouble themſelves.

From this original Fountain iſſue thoſe Streams of Faction, that with ſome courſe of Time and Accidents, overflow the wiſeſt Conſtitutions of Governments and Laws, and many times treat the Princes and trueſt Patriots, like the worſt Tyrants and moſt ſeditious Diſturbers of their Country; and bring ſuch Men to Scaffolds, that deſerved Statues, to violent and untimely Deaths, that were worthy of the longeſt and the happieſt Lives. If ſuch only as *Phalaris* and *Agathocles*, as *Marius* and *Cataline*, had fallen Victims, to Faction, or to popular Rage, we ſhould have little to wonder or complain, but we find the Wiſeſt, the beſt of Men, have been Sacrificed to the ſame Idols. *Solon* and *Pythagoras* have been

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allow'd as ſuch, in their own and in ſucceeding Ages; and yet the one was baniſhed, and the other Murthered by Factions that two ambitious Men had raiſed in Common-wealths which thoſe two wiſe and excellent Men themſelves had framed. The two *Gracchi*, the trueſt Lovers of their Country, were miſerably ſlain: *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, the greateſt and moſt glorious Captains of their own, or perhaps any other Ages, and the beſt Servants of thoſe two great Commonwealths, were baniſhed or diſgraced, by the Factions of their Countries: And to come nearer home, *Barnevelt* and *de Wit* in *Holland*, Sir *Thomas Moore*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* in *England*, eſteemed the moſt extraordinary Perſons of their Time, fell all bloody Sacrifices to the Factions of their Courts or their Conntries.

There is no Theam ſo large and ſo eaſy, no Diſcourſe ſo common and ſo plauſible, as the Faults or Corruptions of Governments, the Miſcarriages or complaints of Magiſtrates; none ſo eaſily received, and ſpread, among good and well-meaning Men; none ſo miſchievouſly raiſed and imployed by ill, nor turned to worſe and more diſguiſed ends. No Governments, no Times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all Men are wiſe, good, and eaſily contented. No civil or politick Conſtitutions, can be perfect or ſecure, whilſt they are compoſed of Men, that are for the moſt part Paſſionate, Intereſted, Unjuſt, or Unthinking, but generally and naturally, Reſtleſs, and Unquiet; Diſcontented with the Preſent, and what they have, Raving after the Future, or ſomething they want, and thereby ever diſpoſed and deſirous to change.

This makes the firſt and univerſal Default of all Governments; and this made the Philoſophers of old, inſtead of ſeeking or accepting the Publick Magiſtracies or Offices of their Countries, employ their Time and Care to improve Mens Reaſons, to temper their Affections, to allay their Paſſions, to diſ-

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cover the Vanity, or the Miſchief, of Pride and Ambition, of Riches and of Luxury; believing the only way to make their Countries happy and ſafe, was to make Men wiſe and good, juſt and reaſonable. But as Nature will ever be too ſtrong for Art, ſo theſe excellent Men ſucceeded as little in their Deſign, as Lawgivers have done in the Frame of any perfect Government, and all of them left the World, much as they found it, ever unquiet, ſubject to changes and Revolutions, as our Minds are to Diſcontents, and our Bodies to Diſeaſes.

Another cauſe of Diſtempers in State, and Diſcontents under all Governments, is the unequal Condition that muſt neceſſarily fall to the ſhare of ſo many and ſo different Men, that compoſe them. In great Multitudes, few in compariſon are born to great Titles or great Eſtates; few can be called to Publick Charges and Employments of Dignity or Power, and few by their Induſtry and Conduct arrive at great Degrees of Wealth and Fortune: And every Man ſpeaks of the Fair, as his own Market goes in it. All are eaſily ſatisfied with themſelves and their own Merit, though they are not ſo with their Fortune; and when they ſee others in better Condition, whom they eſteem leſs deſerving, they lay it upon the ill Conſtitution of Government, the Partiality or Humour of Princes, the Negligence or Corruption of Miniſters. The common ſort of People always find fault with the Times, and ſome muſt always have Reaſon; for the Merchant gains by Peace, and the Soldier by War; the Shepherd by wet Seaſons, and the Plough-man by dry; When the City Fills, the Country grows Empty; and while Trade increaſes in one Place, it decays in another. In ſuch variety of Conditions and Courſes of Life, Mens Deſigns and Intereſts muſt be oppoſite one to another; and both cannot ſucceed alike: Whether the Winner laughs or no, the Loſer will complain, and rather than quarrel at his own Skill or

Fortune,

Fortune, will do it with the Dice, or thoſe he Plays with, or the Maſter of the Houſe. When any Body is Angry, ſome Body muſt be in the Fault; and thoſe of Seaſons which cannot be remedied, of Accidents that could not be prevented, of Miſcarriages that could not be foreſeen, are often laid upon the Government; and whether right or wrong, have the ſame Effect of raiſing or encreaſing the common and popular Diſcontents.

Beſides the natural Propenſion, and the inevitable Occaſions of Complaint from the Diſpoſitions of Men, or Accidents of Fortune; there are others that proceed from the very Nature of Government. None was ever perfect, or free from very many and very juſt Exceptions. The Republicks of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Rome*, ſo renowned in the World, and which have furniſhed Story with the greateſt Actions and Perſons upon the Records of Time, were but long Courſes of Diſorder and Viciſſitude, perpetually rolling between the Oppreſſion of Nobles, the Seditions of People, the Inſolence of Soldiers, or Tyranny of Commanders: All Places and Ages of the World yield the ſame Examples; and if we Travel as far as *China* and *Peru*, to find the beſt compoſed Frames of Government that ſeem to have been in the World, yet we meet with none that has not been ſubject to the ſame Concuſſions, fallen at one time or other under the ſame Convulſions of State, either by Civil Diſſentions, or by Foreign Invaſions.

But how can it otherwiſe fall out, when the very *Ideas* of Government have been liable to Exceptions, as well as their actual Frames and Conſtitutions? The Republick of *Plato*, the Principality of *Hobbs*, the Rotation of *Oceana*, have been all Indicted and found guilty of many Faults, or of great Infirmities. Nay, the very Kinds of Government have never yet been out of Diſpute, but equal Faults have by ſome or other been laid to the Charge of them

all: An abſolute Monarchy ruins the People; one limited endangers the Prince; an Ariſtocraſy is ſubject to Emulations of the Great, and Oppreſſions of the meaner Sort; a Democracy to Popular Tumults and Convulſions; and as Tyranny commonly ends in Popular Tumults, ſo do theſe often in Tyranny, whilſt Factions are ſo violent that they will Truſt any thing elſe rather than one another.

So as a Perfect Scheme of Government ſeems as endleſs and as uſeleſs a Search, as that of the Univerſal Medicine, or the Philoſophers Stone; never any of them out of our Fancy, never any like to be in our Poſſeſſion.

Could we ſuppoſe a Body Politick, framed perfect in its firſt Conception or Inſtitution, yet it muſt fall into Decays, not only from the Force of Accidents, but even from the very Ruſt of Time; and at certain Periods, muſt be furbiſhed up, or reduced to its firſt Principles, by the Appearance and Exerciſe of ſome great Virtues or ſome great Severities: This, the *Florentines* in their Republick Termed *Ripigliare il Stato*; and the *Romans* often attempted it by introducing *Agrarian* Laws, but could never atchieve it; they rather inflamed their Diſſentions, by new Fewds, between the Richer and Poorer ſort.

There is one univerſal Diviſion in all States, which is between the Innocent and Criminals; and another between ſuch as are in ſome meaſure contented with what they poſſeſs by Inheritance, or what they expect from their own Abilities, Induſtry, or Parſimony; and others, who diſſatisfied with what they have, and not truſting to thoſe innocent ways of acquiring more, muſt fall to others, and paſs from Juſt to Unjuſt, from Peaceable to Violent. The firſt deſire Safety, and to keep what they have; the Second are content with Dangers, in hope to get what others legally poſſeſs: One loves the preſent State and Government, and endeavours to Secure it; the other deſires to end this Game, and ſhuffle for a

New:

New: One loves fixed Laws; and the other Arbitrary Power: Yet the laſt, when they have gained enough by Factions and Diſorders, by Rapine and Violence, come then to change their Principles with their Fortunes, and grow Friends to eſtabliſh'd Orders and fixed Laws. So the *Normans* of old, when they had divided the Spoils of the *Engliſh* Lands and Poſſeſſions, grew bold Defenders of the antient *Saxon* Cuſtoms, or common Laws of the Kingdom, againſt the Encroachments of their own Kings. So of later Days it was obſerved, that *Cromwell*'s Officers in the Army, who were at firſt for burning all Records, for levelling of Lands, while they had none of their own, yet when afterwards they were grown rich and landed Men, they fell into the Praiſe of the *Engliſh* Laws, and to cry up *Magna Charta*, as our Anceſtors had done, with much better Grace.

But Laws, ſerve to keep Men in Order, when they are firſt well agreed and inſtituted, and afterwards continue to be well executed. Diſcontents, Diſorders, and Civil Diſſentions, much more frequently ariſe, from Want or Miſcarriage in the laſt, than in the former. Some excellent Lawgiver, or Senate, may invent and frame ſome excellent Conſtitution of Government; but none can provide that all Magiſtrates or Officers neceſſary to conduct or ſupport it, ſhall be wiſe Men, or good; or if they are both, ſhall have ſuch Care and Induſtry, ſuch Application and Vigour, as their Offices require. Now were the Conſtitution of any Government never ſo perfect the Laws never ſo juſt, yet if the Adminiſtration be ill, ignorant, or corrupt, too rigid, or too remiſs, too negligent or ſevere, there will be more juſt Occaſions given of Diſcontent and Complaint, than from any Weakneſs or Fault in the original Conception, or Inſtitution of Government. For it may perhaps be concluded, with as much Reaſon as other Theams of the like Nature, That thoſe

are generally the beſt Governments where the beſt Men Govern; and let the Sort or Scheme be what it will, thoſe are ill Governments, where ill Men Govern, and are generally employ'd in the Offices of State: Yet this is an Evil under the Sun, to which all things under the Sun are ſubject, not only by Accident, but even by natural Diſpoſitions, which can very hardly be alter'd, nor ever were, that we read of, unleſs in that antient Government of the *Chineſe* Empire, eſtabliſhed upon the deepeſt and wiſeſt Foundations of any that appears in Story.

How can a Prince always chuſe well ſuch as he employs, when Mens Diſpoſitions are ſo eaſily miſtaken and their Abilities too? How deceitful are Appearances? How falſe are Mens Profeſſions? How hidden are their Hearts? How diſguiſed their Principles? How uncertain their Humours? Many Men are good and eſteemed when they are private, ill and hated when they are in Office; honeſt and contented when they are poor, covetuous and violent when they grow rich: They are bold one Day, and cautious another; active at one time of their Lives, and lazy the reſt; ſometimes purſue their Ambition, and ſometimes their Pleaſure: Nay, among Soldiers, ſome are brave one day, and Cowards another, as great Captains have told me on their own Experience and Obſervation. Gravity often paſſes for Wiſdom, Wit for Ability; what Men ſay, for what they think; and Boldneſs of Talk, for Boldneſs of Heart; yet they are often found to be very different: Nothing is ſo eaſily cheated, nor ſo commonly miſtaken, as vulgar Opinion; and many Men *Come out*, when they *Come into* Great and Publick Employments; the Weakneſs of whoſe Heads or Hearts would never have been diſcovered, if they had kept within their Private Spheres of Life.

Beſides, Princes or States cannot run into every Corner of their Dominions, to look out Perſons fit for their Service, or that of the Publick; They cannot

not ſee far with their own Eyes, nor hear with their own Ears; and muſt for the moſt part do both with thoſe of other Men; or elſe chuſe among ſuch ſmaller Numbers as are moſt in their way; and theſe are ſuch, generally, as make their Court, or give their Attendance, in order to advance themſelves to Honours, or Fortunes, to Places and Employments; and are uſually the leaſt worthy of them, and better Servants to themſelves than the Government. The Needy, the Ambitious, the Half-witted, the Proud, the Covetous, are ever reſtleſs to get into publick Employments; and many others, that are uneaſy or ill entertained at Home. The Forward, the Buſy, the Bold, the Sufficient, purſue their Game with more Paſſion, Endeavour, Application, and thereby often ſucceed where better Men would fail. In the Courſe of my Obſervation I have found no Talent of ſo much Advantage among Men, towards their growing great or rich, as a violent and reſtleſs Paſſion and Purſuit for one or t'other: And whoever ſets his Heart and his Thoughts wholly upon ſome one Thing, muſt have very little Wit, or very little Luck, to fail. Yet all theſe cover their Ends with moſt worthy Pretences, and thoſe Noble Sayings, *That Men are not born for themſelves*, and, *muſt ſacrifice their Lives for the Publick, as well as their Time and their Health:* And thoſe who think nothing leſs are ſo uſed to ſay ſuch fine things, that ſuch who truly believe them are almoſt aſhamed to own it. In the mean time, the Noble, the Wiſe, the Rich, the Modeſt, thoſe that are eaſy in their Conditions or their Minds, thoſe who know moſt of the World and themſelves, are not only careleſs, but often averſe from entering into Publick Charges or Employments, unleſs upon the Neceſſities of their Country, Commands of their Prince, or Inſtances of their Friends. What is to be done in this Caſe, when ſuch as offer themſelves, and purſue, are not worth having, and ſuch as are moſt worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept? There's

There's yet one Difficulty more, which ſometimes arrives like an ill Seaſon or great Barreneſs in a Country: Some Ages produce many great Men and few great Occaſions; other times on the contrary, raiſe great Occaſions, and few or no great Men: And that ſometimes happen to a Country, which was ſaid by the Fool of *Brederode*, who going about the Fields, with the motions of one ſowing Corn, was aſked what he ſowed; He ſaid I ſow Fools, t'other replied, why do you not ſow Wiſemen? Why, ſaid the Fool, *C'eſt que la Terre ne les porte pas.* In ſome Places and Times, the Races of Men may be ſo decayed, by the Infirmities of Birth it ſelf, from the Diſeaſes or Diſaffection of Parents; may be ſo depraved by the Viciouſneſs or Negligence of Education, by licentious Cuſtoms, and Luxuries of Youth, by ill Examples of Parents, and Magiſtrates, or by lewd and corrupt Principles, generally infuſed and received among a People, that it may be hard for the beſt Princes or Miniſters to find Subjects fit for the Command of Armies, or great Charges of the State; and if theſe are ill ſupplied, there will be always too juſt Occaſion given for Exception and Complaints againſt the Government, though it be never ſo well framed and inſtituted.

Theſe Defects and Infirmities, either natural or accidental, make way for one another; which is more artificial, but of all others the moſt dangerous. For when, upon any of theſe Occaſions, Complaints and Diſcontents are ſown among well-meaning Men, they are ſure to be cultivated by others that are ill and intereſted, and who cover their own ends under thoſe of the Publick, and by the Good and Service of the Nation, mean nothing but their own. The Practice begins of Knaves and of Fools, of Artificial and Crafty Men, upon the Simple and the Good; theſe eaſily follow, and are caught, while the others lay Trains, and purſue a Game, wherein they deſign no other Share, than of Toil and and Danger to their Company,

Company, but the Gain and the Quarry, wholly to themſelves.

They blow up Sparks that fall in by Chance, or could not be avoided, or elſe throw them in where-ever they find the Stubble is Dry: They find out Miſcarriages wherever they are not; They make Fears paſs for Dangers, and Appearances for Truth; repreſents Misfortunes for Faults, and Molehills for Mountains; and by the perſuaſions of the Vulgar, and pretences of Patriots, or Lovers of their Country, at the ſame time they undermine the Credit and Authority of the Government, and ſet up their own. This raiſes a Faction between thoſe Subjects that would ſupport it, and thoſe that would ruin it; or rather between thoſe that poſſeſs the Honours and Advantages of it, and thoſe that under pretence of Reforming, deſign only or chiefly to change the Hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the reſt.

When the Fire is kindled, both ſides enflame it; all care of the Publick is laid aſide, and nothing is purſued, but the Intereſt of the Factions: All regard of Merit is loſt in Perſons employ'd: and thoſe only choſen, that are true to the Party; and all the Talent required, is, to be Hot, to be Heady, to be Violent, of one ſide or other. When theſe Storms are raiſed, the Wiſe and the Good are either diſgraced, or laid aſide, or retire of themſelves, and leave the Scene free to ſuch as are moſt eager or moſt active to get upon the Stage, or find moſt Men ready to help them up.

From theſe Seeds grow Popular Commotions, and at laſt Seditions, which ſo often end in ſome fatal Periods of the beſt Governments, in ſo ſtrong Convulſions and Revolutions of State; and many Times make way for new Inſtitutions and Forms, never intended by thoſe who firſt began or promoted them:

It imports little, from what poor ſmall Springs, the Torrents of Faction firſt ariſe, if they are fed with

Care

Care and improved by Induſtry, and meet with Diſpoſitions fitted to receive and embrace them. That of the *Praſini* and *Veneti*, was as Violent and Fatal at *Conſtantinople*, as that of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in *Italy*; though one began only upon the divided Opinions and Affections, about two publick Theatres, or Play-Houſes, called the Blew, and the Sea-Green: Whereas t'other pretended the Right of Inveſting Biſhops, to be in the Emperor or the Pope. Whatever the Beginnings of Factions are, the Conſequences are the ſame, and the Ends too of thoſe chiefly engaged in them, which is to act the ſame Part in different Maſks, and to purſue Private Paſſions or Intereſts, under Publick Pretences.

Upon the Survey of theſe Diſpoſitions in Mankind, and theſe Conditions of Government, it ſeems much more reaſonable to Pity, than to Envy the Fortunes and Dignities of Princes or great Miniſters of State; and to leſſen or excuſe their venial Faults, or at leaſt their Misfortunes, rather than to encreaſe or make them worſe by all Colours and Repreſentations. For, as every Prince ſhould govern as He would deſire to be governed if he were a Subject, ſo every Subject ſhould obey, as He would deſire to be obeyed if He were a Prince; ſince this Moral Principle, of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the moſt undiſputed and univerſally allowed of any other in the World, how ill ſoever it may be practiſed, by particular Men.

It would be heard to leave Princes and States with ſo ill Proſpects aud Preſages of Eaſe or Succeſs in the Adminiſtration of the Governments, as theſe Reflections muſt afford them; and therefore I will not end without ſome Offers at their Safety, by fixing ſome Marks like Lights upon a Coaſt, by which their Ship may avoid at leaſt known Rocks or Sands, where Wrecks or Dangers have been uſually obſerved: For, to thoſe that come from Heaven by Storms, or the fatal Periods decreed above, all the World muſt Submit.

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The first Safety of Princes and States, lies in avoiding all Councils or Designs of Innovation, in Antient and Establish'd Forms and Laws, especially those concerning Liberty, Property, and Religion, (which are Possessions Men will ever have most at Heart) and thereby, leaving the Channel of known and common Justice, clear and undisturbed.

The Second, in pursuing the true and common Interest of the Nation they govern, without espousing those of any Party or Faction; or if these are so formed in a State, that they must incline to one or other, then to chuse and favour that which is most Popular, or wherein the greatest or strongest part of the People appear to be engaged. For, as the End of Government seemed to be *Salus Populi*, so the Strength of the Government is the Consent of the People; which made that Maxim of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*: That is, the Governors who are few, will ever be forced to follow the Strength of the Governed, who are many, let them be either People or Armies, by which they Govern.

A third, is the Countenancing and introducing as far as is possible the Customs and Habits of Industry and Parsimony into the Countries they Govern; for Frugal and Industrious Men are usually Safe and Friends to the establish'd Government, as the Idle and Expensive are dangerous from their Humours or Necessities.

The last consists in preventing Dangers from abroad; for foreign Dangers raise Fears at home, and Fears among the People raise Jealousies of the Prince, or State, and give them ill Opinions, either of their Abilities, or their good Intentions. Men are apt to think well of themselves and of their Courage and their Strength, and if they see it in Danger, they lay the Fault upon the Weakness, ill Conduct, or Corruption of their Governors, the ill Orders of State, ill Choice of Officers, or ill Discipline of Armies; and nothing makes a Discontent or Sedition so fatal at

home, as an Invaſion, or the Threats and Proſpect of one from abroad.

Upon theſe four Wheels, the Chariot of a State may in all Appearance drive eaſy and ſafe, or at leaſt not to be too much ſhaken by the uſual Roughneſs of Ways, unequal Humours of Men, or any common Accidents: Further is not to be provided; for though the beginnings of great Fires are often diſcovered, and thereby others eaſily prevented with Care; yet ſome may be thrown in from Engines far off, and out of Sight; others may fall from Heaven; and 'tis hard to determine whether ſome Conſtellations of Celeſtial Bodies, or Inflamations of Air from Meteors or Comets, may not have a powerfull Effect upon the Minds, as well as Bodies of Men, upon the Diſtempers and Diſeaſes of both, and thereby upon Heats and Humors of vulgar Minds, and the Commotions and Seditions of a People who happen to be moſt Subject to their Influence: In ſuch Caſes when the Flame breaks out, all that can be done is to remove as faſt as can be all Materials that are likely to increaſe it, to employ all Ways and Methods of quenching it, to repair the Breaches and Loſſes it has occaſioned, and to bear with Patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied.

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